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The History of Crucial Days.

News constantly reaches us from Germany about the industrial crisis and the scarcity of employment there, and of the speculation in wheat on the part of the "Yankee"—the country squires and large landed proprietors—who demand a still higher tariff on grain. All this, joined with the fact that the German army, in consequence of the excessive discipline maintained by its aristocratic officers, is by no means as loyal as of old—as is proved by the affair at Kronig and the mutiny on the German cruiser "Gazelle"—has suggested to the writer of these lines to hunt through a couple of the larger histories of the French revolution in order to see what it was that gave the immediate impulse to the outbreak of the great French revolution.

The history of those days is now so interesting that we are unwilling to withhold it from our readers.

Now let us see. What was the immediate occasion for the outbreaking of the French revolution of 1789?

To put it briefly: The impoverishment of the people, and the high price of grain, caused by the "paete de farine" and the speculation in wheat by the French princes and courtiers. The scarcity of employment added to this, and also the stern measures of the government against the unemployed and the workmen generally.

Handworkers, embittered by the cruel suppression of the strike of Revelion's workmen, together with French common soldiers, stormed the Bastille.

Their leaders were Hulin, a Swiss watchmaker, afterwards a general, and Westermann, an Abbatian journalist and also afterwards a general. So this was a kind of international affair.

Of course without the assistance of the troops this uprising could not have been successful.

The Amsterdam Zeitung of May 12, 1789, says in regard to the cruel punishment of the strikers: "The severe penalties which have been inflicted upon them, and the precautions which have been taken (the concentration of 20,000 soldiers in Paris) gives ground for hope that the peace will not be disturbed again for a long while." This Amsterdam account of the affair was evidently a cooked and dried official report, written to pacify men's minds.

But how was this army of 20,000 men constituted? With the exception of a few detachments of Swiss, one regiment of German dragoons, and one of Hungarian hussars, they were FRENCH troops.

Ever since the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI., so popular at first, the French war department had maintained a severe discipline, in view of the growing discontent of the people. Two years after the King's accession, a decree to that effect had been published. In the year 1788 the discipline was once again increased. It was ordered that slight offenses, which before had been punished by arrest, should be punished in future with blows with the flat of the sword.

The retaliation of the French royal army for this "discipline" made history.

On the 2d of July, 1789, part of the Fifth battalion of the French guards and two companies of the Third infantry left their barracks, contrary to the orders of their officers, and mingled with the excited people in the streets, artisans, students, men out of employment, etc. These soldiers refused to return to their barracks, and in view of the general excitement it was not deemed advisable to send other French soldiers after them to bring them back by force. The soldiers of the French guards had taken their arms with them.

On the night of the 12th of July the people (among them many of the French Guards who had gone over to them) stormed all the "barriers," that is the toll-gates and custom-houses, from Faubourg St. Antoine to Faubourg St. Honore. The people would have no more duties on their food!

The military had stepped in on July 12, but the battalions of the French Guards had by that time gone over to the workmen and shot at the loyal regiments of German hirelings, the "Royal Allemands." On the same day the City Council of Paris ordered 50,000 pikes made and distributed among the people. It required thirty-six hours to get these ready, however, yet ere that time had elapsed the people had armed themselves in ANOTHER MANNER, as we shall see.

On July 12 the Paris municipality—that is, the City Council, which had constituted itself a permanent committee—voted to form a Paris militia of 28,000 men.

On the same day still larger detachments of the French Guards deserted and marched at the head of the people to the Place Louis Fiftenth, to attack the Swiss Guards and Hungarian Hussars (foreign hired troops) who were stationed there. These troops retreated.

The people now were most anxious for arms. The shops of the gunmakers and sellers were plundered, but of course the supply thus obtained was insufficient.

It was known that the government had concealed great stores of arms somewhere in the city, but the place could not be found.

At last it came out that the King's intendant had hidden 27,000 muskets and bayonets in the cellars of the Hotel des Invalides. To this place the people swarmed on the morning of July 14. If the French soldiers had remained true to the King, the regiments stationed there in the open square and the broad boulevard surrounding the Hotel des Invalides, could easily have annihilated the dense crowds of the unarmed people. But the French soldiers followed the example of their comrades (the French Guards) on the day before, and went over to the people. And the commander of the foreign troops in the Champs de Mars, under these circumstances, did not dare to give the command for an assault.

On this very same day the people—that is, the unemployed, the artisans, etc., together with the French Guards—stormed the Bastille.

Thus the French revolution had its "official" beginning. The next day the King was obliged to withdraw the rest of his French troops from Paris. From that time on only the hired professional soldiers from Switzerland fought and died for him.

We do not wish, of course, to draw analogies between the French revolution and the present conditions of Germany. As is well known, the writer of these lines is no adherent of the "catastrophe theory" of Socialism, and the economic development in Germany has by no means gone so far that according to the rules of strict Marxism a Socialist revolution could take place there at present.

But one thing nevertheless must be remembered—the German emperor has NO hired professional soldiers; he has only an army of the German people.

His only reliance therefore rests today on the stupid peasant youths. But these are no longer in the majority, even in the army itself, since the gigantic growth of the great cities in Germany, and the spread of industries even into the country.

So we will not say that absolutely any event is impossible, yet neither will we prophesy.

Prof. Charles W. Pearson of the chair of English literature in Northwestern university, which is conducted under Methodist auspices, has thrown a bomb into the ranks of Methodism in Evanston, Ill., the seat of the university, by giving out for publication a statement of his belief that biblical infallibility is a superstition and a burlesque tradition. He says that the stories of the miracles in the Bible are myths and fairy tales, and that it is our duty as intelligent, honest men and women to come right out and admit as much. He says:

"The story about the three men in the fiery furnace, the one about Elijah and the ravens, the account of Elisha's dividing the waters of Jordan and going through dry shoes, together with similar accounts in the Old Testament, are crude and childish legends."

The New Testament fares no better at the hands of the professor.

The gates which opened "of their own accord" before Peter; the feeding of the multitude by Jesus; Jesus' walking on the water; the story of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain are all declared to be nothing but legends.

The professor makes no distinction between the miracle stories of the Old

Testament and the same sort of stories in the New. They are all stories—that is to say, myths.

There is, however, one New Testament story—that of the resurrection of Jesus—that Prof. Pearson does not mention along with the others.

If the other miracle stories are myths, why is not the miracle story of the resurrection also a myth? And if the miracle story of the resurrection is a myth, what becomes of our Christianity?

These are some of the questions that will soon be huzzing about in the public mind.

But the professor says he doesn't care. He is going to tell the truth and take the consequences, believing, in the meantime, that the truth will, in the end, prove to be the best for us all.

Prof. Pearson's paper is entitled "Open Inspiration Versus a Closed Canon and an Infallible Bible."

It is needless to say that there is a tremendous outburst of indignation from all Methodist pulpits against Prof. Pearson, and he may, thank his stars that he lives in the Twentieth century and that they have not the power to roast him otherwise than with words—otherwise the fate of Servetus might be his.

It is needless to say that he is going to lose his job.

Director Merriam gave out a census statement concerning the growth of the North and South. The statement shows that in the North the proportion of the population living in large cities is more than three times as great as it is in the South. The population living in cities of over 25,000 inhabitants increased 41.0 per cent. between 1880 and 1900, partly by the growth of the 124 cities of that size in 1880 and partly by the addition during the following ten years of thirty-six other cities to the list. The population of the country outside these cities increased between 1880 and 1900, 14.5 per cent. The 160 cities of the United States each of which had over 25,000 inhabitants in 1900 increased in population 32.5 per cent. between 1880 and 1900; the rest of the United States excluding Alaska and the recent insular possessions increased 17.16 per cent.

The proportion of inhabitants of the three sections, the North, South and West, into which the census divides the United States, follows: North, total population 47,379,699; population of cities of 25,000 or more, 10,196,580 or 21 per cent. South, total 24,523,527; cities of 25,000 or more, 2,488,553, or 10 per cent. West, 4,091,349; cities of 25,000 or more, \$1,033,170, or 25 per cent.

This shows that there is very little chance for an active Socialist movement in the South for some time to come, and that we ought to spend our money on propaganda in the North and in the West, where there is a growing chance for results as these figures show.

We cannot build up a Socialist movement where there is no economic basis for it. The population of the South is overwhelmingly agricultural. It is comparatively thin and poorly educated and contains a very large percentage of negroes. Aside from a few favored localities in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky and Texas, we consider the case of Socialism as almost hopeless in the South at the present stage of the game. We therefore think that money gathered from national dues can be spent to much better advantage in other parts of the country.

A cable dispatch says: Discussing the growth of Socialism in France, M. Millerand, the minister of commerce said:

"No doubt Socialism is making great headway in France. While aiming at high ideals, it is becoming more practical every day. Strife among the classes is no part of the Socialistic creed. Socialism should take into consideration the interests and prejudices of the people. Briefly, it will make more progress when it recognizes the difference between the real and the ideal."

M. Millerand, ex-premier, disagrees with M. Millerand. He said the form of Socialism called revolutionary collectivism is the saddest of all utopias, as it is both seducing and impracticable.

"It gives workmen illusions which make them lose sight of their real interests," he added, and consequently the presence of M. Millerand in the collectivist movement does not augur well for France. There should be an intelligent understanding between labor and capital such as you have in the United States."

M. Millerand is hardly considered a Socialist any longer in France or anywhere else. Strife among the classes is not a part of the socialistic creed, but the class strife is inherent in the present system, the Socialists did not inoculate it there—they simply see it and point it out to those who try to blindfold themselves and others. As long as there is a class of employers and a class of employed, a class of capitalists and a class of proletarians, there must be class antagonism and class strife. So it is not the real Socialists who fail to recognize the difference between the ideal and the real, but those who would like to lose sight of facts as they are, in order to be considered "good fellows" by the capitalists.

But as to M. Meline, a leader of the clerical party in France, if his ideal is "the intelligent understanding between labor and capital such as you have in the United States"—Monsieur Meline's ideals are very queer indeed, and they are surely not in accord with the ideal of the overwhelming majority of the laboring people of the United States.

What are you going to do to increase the circulation and the influence of the Social Democratic Herald?—Answer.

The Kaiser's son—the crown prince—Friedrich Wilhelm has been living rather rapidly while attending the university in Bonn and had to come home and behave. May be he wanted to get everything possible out of it as long as it lasted—for the chances that any crown prince will ever rule in Germany are rather slim, considering the tremendous growth of the Social Democracy in Germany.

Recorder Goff of New York has just made an address before the Nineteenth Century club upon "Anarchy," which is attracting considerable attention. In part the recorder said:

"For us who are gathered here in this well-appointed and beautifully-decorated chamber under the glare of these electric lights, it is perfectly proper to agree that anarchy is abominable. We would be false to our surroundings if we did not. We are all well dressed and pretty well to do financially, and it is only natural for us to take the position of the party in possession."

He continued: "I think we assume a little too much if we make the mistake of congratulating ourselves on the present state of our society or our position in it. The aristocracy and nobility of France took the same position before the Revolution as regard to what they called their rights. But was it not their lives which caused the Revolution? The nobles amused themselves in luxury and wealth while the people starved. Who were the Anarchists? The people or they?"

"You cannot extirpate ideas by legislation. Laws never made men and women virtuous. Do not endeavor to repress an idea. If the idea is right, it will triumph, and the repressive methods will prove only so much fuel to feed the flames. When wrong, ideas die of themselves. In dealing with anarchy, let us remember that if our government is founded on righteousness, then anarchy is a crime and this crime will pass as other crimes have in the world's history."

Recorder Goff said nothing about Socialism, at least we did not see anything in the press reports. But evidently the thought of Socialism is lurking in the background. The parts of the speech quoted above show Mr. Goff to possess an uncommon amount of knowledge of historical and philosophical facts—for a judge.

In his criticism of Socialism Bishop Corrigan says: "According to Socialism the entire state is a beehive. In this beehive there are to be no drones. That the present evils of things can be set right by dividing property." Rich, isn't it? According to Corrigan, then, there ought to be no drones who do nothing, yet share the results of the industry of the others! Such, for instance, as his worshipful. He does not like the destroying of the drones—such action might require him to do something useful. Think of him defending the drones that live off his flocks! And as for dividing up property, he is exceedingly ignorant or willfully misstates. I think he is ignorant of what Socialism means. Socialism does not propose to divide property. That is just what the drones today are doing—dividing the property and keeping most of it from those who produce it. He never read a work on Socialism that advocated never heard a Socialist who proposed dividing up property. Corrigan is a sample of the fellows who oppose Socialism. He refuses to debate the question with Father McGrady. He dare not meet him. Corrigan is talking for the corporations and other fecerers of the people. Every Catholic Socialist, and there are hundreds of thousands of such in the world, knows that the statement that Socialists propose to divide up the property of the world is false. Appeal to Reason.

Talk about Socialism being hostile to religion, it is usually the other way: Official religion is hostile to Socialism. For instance: Socialism is attacked by the German Catholics of Chicago as the enemy of God, the enemy of government and the enemy of laboring men of the country. At the annual meeting of the Chicago district of the Federation of German Catholic societies resolutions attacking Socialism in this manner were unanimously adopted with cheers by a thousand delegates and plans were prepared for combating Socialism by the establishment of Christian associations of laborers.

A similar occurrence took place in Italy lately where the Pope started the organization of Catholic trade unions in order to combat the trade union movement in Italy, which he claims is honeycombed with Socialists and Socialism. The Pope has changed his attitude towards Socialism considerably since 1891, when he wrote the famous encyclical Rerum Novarum.

Well, well, but the world is rather hard on the Hon. David S. Rose, reform mayor of Milwaukee and candidate for re-election. There he has been hustling up the building of Grand avenue bridge in order to have the "celebration of the opening" with a greased pig, the mayor's speech and the popularity that goes with it, and now there are some hard-hearted individuals who would stop the celebration as undignified for a city of the size of Milwaukee. "This is the most unkindest cut of all," considering that Dave depends no little on his "wee-wee" act for a re-election.

On Friday, January 31, the Social Democratic party of this city will hold its city convention at Lincoln hall. Every trades union of this city has an opportunity to send delegates to this convention. Every union man in this city and every honest, upright and progressive citizen will have an opportunity this spring to rebuke capitalism and the servants of the capitalist class by voting for principles and men opposed to the capitalist system.

Mayor Rose is ambitious. That is the reason, according to his own statement, why he has decided to run for a third term. He is ambitious, he says, to carry out the public improvements which have been inaugurated by his administration. He even points with pride to the garbage plant, which he prophesies will be in operation before the close of this month. No doubt during his next term—if he should be elected—some other public improvement, for instance, a few sewer, will be commenced, and there will be another fine issue upon which his honor may demand a re-election and so ad infinitum. But it seems that the cries of "reform," public ownership and other great problems have not the ear of the public—at least not this year. It seems that those who really want reform or who want real reforms, will go about it in the right way, i. e., by voting the Social Democratic ticket.

If the government insists that Indians in its charge cut off their long hair, abstain from the use of paint and the gaudy habiliments of savagery, the aborigines will dig up the hatchet and shed their blood in resisting so sudden a wiping out of racial characteristics. This is the opinion of J. B. Bottineau, son of Pierre Bottineau, Northwestern pioneer and scout, who is connected with the red race by ties of blood.

He said: "The white man has pushed the red man back and back from the

A Ridiculous Proceeding.

We read in the Missouri Socialist: "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition is now practically on the boycott list of organized labor of St. Louis, and before many days the official announcement of the boycott is likely to be in the hands of every trade unionist in America."

"Not only have workingmen been hoodwinked into subscribing to stock only to find that when it comes to employing labor 'the cheapest we can get' is to be used; but even the small business men have been beautifully jolled into parting with their money under an illusion that their business would increase with the number of additional men employed in constructing the fair buildings. These little business men now find that a great model city is to be constructed on the fair grounds to accommodate the thousands of workmen employed, and instead of these workers living in the city and spending their wages with the corner grocer and butcher, the contract to supply the food for this model city has been let to one Truitt, who fed the seabs used by the Transit company in 1900. It is to be doubted that these small business men will lend their indorsement to the move on foot to boycott the World's fair and show the capitalists at the head of that institution that organized labor is just as powerful as the day it shut down every street car in the city, and that a successful exposition cannot be held without its consent."

"The report of the sub-committee reviewed the entire controversy. The directors had flatly refused to enter into any contract of any kind with a view to unionizing the fair. The printing work used by the World's fair committees and officers had not borne the union label. The contract to feed the employees at Taylor City had been let to Truitt, a man who had been in the business of feeding seabs before; the contract for building the iron fence had been let to Mesker Bros., a firm that is notoriously unfair to organized labor; the wooden fence was being put up by non-union men."

So far, so good. While we understand that practically all the building on the fair ground is being done by union men under the supervision of the Building Trades Council of St. Louis—(Steinbiss, the national secretary of the Building Trades Council, is one of the directors of the World's fair)—there is no doubt that the same disagreement between the Building Trades Council and the other labor unions exists in St. Louis as exists almost everywhere else. Still we have our doubts whether the fact that "the printing work does not bear the union label" and that the fences are alleged not to be "union fences" is in itself sufficient cause to boycott a World's fair whose buildings are being put up by union labor. Even the "little business men" and the "corner grocer and butcher" with whom the workmen at the fair do not spend their wages, would hardly furnish sufficient reason for such a step—from our standpoint. However, that is the business of the St. Louis workmen and we do not care to meddle.

But we also read the following in the Missouri Socialist:

"Acting under instructions of the national committee of the Democratic party, whose headquarters are located in St. Louis, Leon Greenbaum, national secretary of that party, communicated at once with the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium, with which the Socialist party of America is affiliated, requesting the secretary of that body to notify the Socialist members of the various European parliaments of the situation in St. Louis and to warn them to vigorously oppose the granting of any appropriations for foreign exhibits at the World's fair in St. Louis. Communications were also sent to Emil Vandervelde, Socialist deputy of Belgium, and to August Bebel, the leader of the Socialists in the Reichstag of Germany. In many of these countries the Socialists are powerful enough to prevent an appropriation, especially as the different governments are in constant fear of the Socialists, and would not fight them very hard on a matter which only involved foreign interests. Prof. George D. Herron, who represents the Socialist party on the international bureau, is now in Europe and will be advised of the situation and instructed to see that the powerful Socialist parties of Europe leave nothing undone to aid the organized workers of St. Louis in their fight."

This puts a different aspect on the whole business. We ask what right have the national secretary and the "local quorum" in St. Louis to make a laughing stock of the entire Socialist movement in America? The St. Louis "wooden fence" is a local affair. It is neither national nor international. The boycott up to date has not even been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor. We must protest against the national Socialist movement being made the tail of little trades union squabbles in St. Louis—in fact, we do not care to have the Socialist movement made the tail of the trades union movement in any way.

The local quorum in St. Louis evidently takes too much upon itself. Before such an important step as writing to the International bureau is taken, the national committee ought to be consulted. The local quorum in St. Louis seems to have a very queer idea of the size and the scope of the national and international Socialist movement, judging from their attempt to make it an accessory to the fight about the wooden fence.

But let us consider the details of this great net a little further. We find that the secretary of the International Socialist bureau in Brussels is requested by Comrade Leon Greenbaum "to notify the Socialist members of the various European parliaments of the situation in St. Louis"—the wooden fence and the refusal of the label on the printing? and "to warn them to vigorously oppose the granting of any appropriations for foreign exhibits at the World's fair in St. Louis."

What does the local St. Louis quorum think the International Socialist bureau in Brussels is? Do they imagine it is a sort of a Supreme court or supreme government for all Socialist parties of the world? It is nothing of the kind. It is a statistical bureau, that is all.

The International Socialist bureau had its first meeting on December 30, 1901. All the work before the members was accomplished in one day's session. The report in the Berlin Vorwaerts hardly fills a column and a half, including the four resolutions adopted. It is significant that it was unanimously refused to let the bureau play any kind of a political role whatsoever—Germany and France protesting—or to have Socialists in the parliaments act upon the suggestion of the bureau. No matter of how much general importance for the proletariat of the world a subject may be, even the suggestion of parliamentary action must properly be left to the respective Socialist parties of the different countries.

And now comes the St. Louis Quorum and requests parliamentary action and "warns" against appropriations, etc., on account of the wooden fence at the fair in St. Louis. Is it not ridiculous?

The Socialists of the European parliaments would be kept rather busy if we proceed in that way. But we "warn" the St. Louis Quorum not to proceed that way in the future. There are a few Socialists in America outside of St. Louis who have a different conception of the national and international Socialist movement.

land formerly occupied and has pinned him up on reservations which are now being run for him by unscrupulous schemers without a recent murmur from the Indians.

"The red man knows how to fight; he has demonstrated that fact. But the red man also knows when he is whipped. He realized long ago that it was useless for him longer to war with the whites, and he has submitted to almost any proposition made him, either willfully or under the influence of fire water, opiously administered by the civilized persons who would bargain with him."

"The mandatory order that the Indians' hair be clipped, his paint abandoned and his blanket and treasured ornaments thrown aside for the plain garb of the civilized man is, in my opinion, the last straw."

The red men seem to be in that respect very much like the masses of the white people. These masses also submit to almost every kind of exploitation and fleeing, to almost every sort of indignity, but take away from them their beer or their clay pipe, then look out for a revolution.

So far as "security of work" is concerned, the workman of the present time is worse off than any of his predecessors in history. He is worse off than the black slave was. In fact, the irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work is the most alarming feature of the workingman's condition. The workman of today cannot work when he wants to work, or when he ought to work, in order to support himself and his family. Oh, no. He can only work when the profit of the employer permits him to work.

Nowadays no manufacturer or employer can afford to give his men work when there is no profit in it for him. For he surely cannot carry on his business at a loss, at least not for any length of time. In such a case he has to stop business, he has to stop production. Whether his workmen ought to work in order to live—whether they must work in order to live—that is a matter of no consideration. The only matter of consideration is the "profit."

Here is one that a young man who knows a good story when he hears it heard one railroad man tell another in a depot up the line the other day, says the Portland Oregonian.

"We picked up a new Irishman somewhere up-country and set him to work 'brakin' on a construction train at 3 cents a mile for wages. One day when him au' me was on the train we got away on one o' them mountain grades, and the first thing we knowed as was flyin' down the track at about ninety miles an hour, with nothin' in sight but the ditch and the happy huntin' grounds when we come to the end. I twisted 'em down as hard as I could all along the tops, and then of a sudden I see Mike crawlin' along toward the end of one of the cars on all fours, with his face the color of milk. I thought he was gettin' ready to jump, an' I see his finish if he did."

"Mike," I says, 'for God's sake don't jump."

"He clamps his fingers on the runnin' board to give him a chance to turn round, and, lookin' at me contemptuous, answers: 'Jump, is it? Do yez think I'd be arther jumpin' an' me makin' money as fast as I am?'"

Are You Hunting for Subscribers for The Herald? Send for a Bundle of Tea.

SERMONS WITHOUT
PREACHERS.

Beautiful winter day yesterday. Just frost enough in the air to make it feel like a blanket. The wind whistled in from the lake, but what a winter's day when you are warm and cozy, with a bright fire burning for you, and a face that you love smiling in the shadow till you come home? If you are not warm and cozy and smiling, is there a little different?

There is a little woman over on Waldron street who thought yesterday a bitter day.

She walked the streets all day long, looking for work.

She didn't get it.

She doesn't look very strong, and people cannot bother with invalids.

At times, too, when she asked for work her voice trembled and that did not make a good impression. People want cheery women to do their work. They can't be annoyed with long faces.

It is a little hard, though, to hold the voice quite steady when you haven't eaten solid food for a long time.

The easiest thing in the world to look content when the baby is at home crying for something to eat.

Little Mrs. Covey couldn't tell you a word about the labor question. She doesn't know what the word Socialism means, but she can tell you all about hunger and despair and the aching of a hungry heart.

She came to Chicago from Milwaukee a little while ago.

Simple things the poor are.

She might have saved her fare and sold in Milwaukee, mightn't she? But then, you see, her husband was in the Marine hospital here, and she had a silly idea that he might want to see her poor face before he dies there among strangers and so she came here to be near him.

And here she is, she and her seven children, all hungry and all half-frozen while the old man sits by the fire and laughs at the old tales of want and agony and tell each other that the times never were so good as now.

Yet she is starving, and she and these children, and today, this very day, the man who owns the miserable basement where she lives is going to turn the little family out into the street.

What will they go?

Who knows?

Who cares?

The oldest daughter has found work and when she found it there was such a sound of happy weeping in the dank little basement that the woman from upstairs came running down to see what had happened.

Two dollars a week the girl gets. She brings every cent of it home, and the children have milk and bread and coffee now.

But there are no fires in the house and no money for the food, and out in the street they must go even with the best they can do with the \$2 a week that the oldest girl earns.

The little girl sat by the window all day yesterday watching for her mother to come home. "I can tell the minute I see her," she said, "if she has got work," and when she did see her mother coming she ran and hid her mother's coming and would not let her mother see her cry.

And this morning the boy would not get up for breakfast because the oatmeal for his breakfast was not cooked exactly to his taste.

And the little girl who is your pride and joy cried because you had oranges instead of grape fruit for her breakfast.

Sentiments from a Calendar.

The Plymouth church of Rochester, N. Y., of which Comrade William T. Brown is pastor, has issued a calendar for 1902 with Socialist sentiments for each month, all of which are well worth reproducing. A few of them follow:

"We are willing to let white others are making in the mine to be willing to have an audience in the world which is attained by standing on a pyramid of struggling human bodies; to be contented to have and enjoy while others starve; to be satisfied to prosper while any ear-witness honest laborer, on any scale of despair and death, sums up the attributes of a fiend."

"It is not because of their moral stature that some men and women have to stoop in order to touch their fellows down below. If the artificial pedestals which capitalism furnishes are removed, a great many people would have to climb in order to look into the faces of some who are now social outcasts."

"Far and wide over the earth, permeating every civilized country, in this movement toward industrial justice. No man created and no man can destroy this movement. It is the product of a long evolution. It is the awakening of man."

"Before a providence that lifted the load of drudgery from tired shoulders, made labor a joy and all inspiration, banished all miseries and sorrows, and tabulated all mankind in proprietorship of meadows and lakes and mountains and sea, of health and freedom, would not the heart of the world leap with a hitherto unknown gladness?"

"Are you looking for the eternal world? It is here and now, and it is yours for contact with the power that makes for righteousness? It is in you, you are it. See the individual trying to find salvation from the hell of a theological nightmare, but the city and state and nation ministering bravely and reverently to the wealth, not of dollars, but of men."

"The labor which it is the right of every man to have and to do is that which gives him the chance to express in material form the joy of his own soul. That is the chance to live. And the task of society for every man and woman that opportunity is the best definition of reform I know."

"In stead of continuing the fruitless swing of a political pendulum, now this way, now that, but always in the direction and for the interests of one vast system of exploitation and murder, we had better put our thoughts on the idea of getting rid of the whole iniquitous thing."

"A terrible labor war is expected in St. Louis. The building trades demand that all work in their line for the World's Fair be done by negroes. The contractors' league has issued its ultimatum, in which it is declared that sympathetic strikes will not be tolerated and non-union men will be hired when necessary."

"Child labor statistics in Chicago form an interesting feature of the annual report sent to Gov. Yates by Louis Arrington, chief inspector of factories and workhouses for Illinois. It is reported that 14,000 children under the age of 14 years are sent to work by their parents, with adulterers for their employers to the effect that they are of the legal age. It is pointed out that under the present law the only charge on which parents can be prosecuted for sending their children to work is perjury, which is considered too severe. Mr. Arrington recommends the passage of a new law imposing a fine or jail sentence. It is also recommended that the commission of a notary who issues a false affidavit of this kind be revoked."

Two Dollars a Week for a
Family of Eight.

NUMBER NINE.

How would it be to take that little girl and that little boy over to Waldron street and let them talk with those children over there, those children who have not eaten decent food in weeks and who have not known what it is to be warm since winter began?—Winifred Black in the American.

SERMON—NUMBER TEN.

In an upper room of an old-fashioned house, in Twelfth street, above Race, there gathered yesterday morning a curious company of men, says the Philadelphia North American of January 2. They sat in rows, as at church, with their eyes fixed on a man who addressed them from the platform, or led them in singing. At the proper signals they rose and sang with him, with what seemed to be a patient impulse of obedience. When the hymn was finished they sat again, and followed the service in silence and without motion. They seemed to be waiting.

Their years ranged from youth to old age; their faces were smooth and bearded, their features dissimilar, their clothing alike only in its general appearance of being too long worn. Yet, in every face, in every steady eye and submissive mouth, there was some unnamed terrible familiarity. In this old man, with shaggy beard and gray, matted hair, it was the unmistakable record of a useless life, years of struggle against poverty, the gradual fading away of hope, the yielding at last to the hardness of defeat. In his youth, with thin, unshaven cheeks, it was the beginning of the same story; but the struggle would not last for years; it was already over.

And so in all the faces. Everywhere the bitterness and hopelessness of failure, the deadly certainty that self-reliance was gone, the weary acceptance of defeat, the dull conviction of failure.

The Sunday-Breakfast association, which not only in holiday time, but all the year, seeks to reclaim the unfortunate.

The service was over at last and the crowd was permitted to descend to the dining room. They moved down the narrow stairway, slowly and steadily, but with a repressed eagerness. There was no talking. Each man clutched a white ticket in his hand. Four abreast the throng rolled out of the gloom at the head of the stairs and down the steps, with shuffling feet.

One of the waiters stood at the landing, and as the line crashed a little he flung up his hand. The silent men looked at him submissively, and moved more slowly. As they reached the dining room each man presented his ticket. One had a red ticket, and was motioned out of the line.

"That is for the next table," said the official kindly. "Go upstairs and wait." The man stepped aside and said nothing, while the others passed in.

The stood behind the chairs at the long tables, where the plates were heaped with a bountiful dinner. Gray heads and dark, old faces and young were bent forward while grace was pronounced.

Then followed the scraping of chairs as the men sat down, and instantly there arose the hurried clatter of dishes and tinkling of knives. Among all these men there was not one who spoke.

MONOPOLY'S G U P.

The landlord stands at the coal mine door. "Stand back! Stand back!" saith he. "And let me see all my money store. And ye may but work for me."

"Now doff your cap for a job, my man. And take what the owners give you. God help the man that's under the ban Of the Trusts that let men live."

The landlord stands by the iron mine. "And the iron trade grows stink." "Ye shall pay me more for the God-made ore, Or for tools and labor lack."

And the tools are few in the farmers' fields. And the coal in the kitchen stove scanty. Alas, for the man who pays what he can, And takes what the Trust-kings grant.

For the buyers wait in the market place. And the workmen wait at the milking hand. Of the Trusts whose earth-grit kills.

—Virginia M. Butterfield.

Steel Trust Profits.

The announcement at the quarterly meeting of the board of directors of the United States Steel corporation that the earnings for the first nine months of the year amounted to \$84,779,298 arouses considerable remark. The New York World, for instance, wonders if these "monstrous profits" might not move the steel combine "to be as generous to American as to British buyers of its products."

It says: "Now selling steel rails, for example, in England at \$22.50 per ton, after paying the railroad and ocean freights. The ocean freight alone is \$5.11 per ton. So that American steel rails are really being sold in England at \$17 per ton net."

The American price is \$28 per ton—\$11 higher than the English price. At 2,000,000 tons of steel rails are consumed in this country every year, the steel trust is collecting at least \$22,000,000 a year from its American customers in excess of what it would eagerly accept from its foreign customers for the same quantity of rails.

In view of those \$85,000,000 net earnings in nine months would it not be reasonable to take off the Dingley duty of \$7.84 per ton on steel rails? That would bring the American price down to \$20 per ton, which would still be \$3 a ton more than the trust is selling them for in England."

Suppressing Progressive Ideas.

Redlands, California, is a town with a small public library, founded by one Stanley, a capitalist. The place is fortunate in having a small body of Socialists who have conducted during the past few months a very active propaganda, succeeding, among other things, in establishing a weekly Socialist newspaper, in the face of a great deal of opposition. The paper, the Undercurrent, has been the information that all Socialist publications and books have been excluded from the library by its capitalistic directors. Not only so, but in their fear and anxiety lest anything "unfit" remain on their shelves, the expurgators have thrown out the works of Ibsen, Bjornson, Tolstoy, Nordau, Zola, Howells, Markham, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Ernest Crosby, John Brisbane Walker and even the famous "Mr. Dooley," besides many others believed to teach doctrines inimical to capitalist interests.

There will still be found in the library catalogue such mental pabulum as Aesop's Fables, Mother Goose and Jack and the Beanstalk.

Wilshire's Magazine and The Herald one year for One Dollar.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
PRACTICALLY ILLUSTRATED.

United States Consul at Cologne, Germany, makes Report to State Department.

United States Consul Charles E. Barnes at Cologne, Germany, in a report to the state department, presents the following facts in connection with a remarkable success in municipal ownership and management of street railways:

The first street railways in Cologne, Germany, had their origin in an old municipal undertaking in Germany, the concession being granted to a Belgian company in the year 1878. A fresh concession was granted by the town for each line to the outgoing suburbs, and some of the concessions would not have expired until the year 1924. The city authorities appointed, in 1897, a committee to ascertain on what terms the company would dispose of the property.

A contract was finally agreed upon, the most interesting terms of which are given below:

The city of Cologne was to pay to the street railway company: (1) An annual sum of 1,000,000 marks (\$238,000) from January 1, 1899, to June 30, 1913, amounting in all to 14,500,000 marks (\$3,451,000); (2) from 1903, 25,000 marks (\$5,938) for each year until June 30, 1915.

All the lines passed, without any indemnity other than that specified in the contract, into the possession of the city.

The city took possession of all real estate, buildings and accessories used by the company.

In fact, the cost to the town, therefore, including the cost of any buildings they might subsequently take over, was 14,500,000 marks (\$3,451,000).

For the conversion of the existing lines into electric traction and for the laying of new lines, the city granted the company an appropriation of 18,000,000 marks (\$4,284,000). The overhead-wire system was decided on, and one section was opened for traffic on October 15. The installation was carried out by Messrs. Siemens & Halske of Berlin.

The net profits amounted to 1,025,000 marks (\$240,900), and all the profits have increased regularly. It is hoped that in 1914 they will amount to 2,380,000 marks (\$560,400).

The fares charged at present are:

Yearly tickets, good on all lines..... 120.00 \$28.50

Good on all lines..... 10.00 2.38

Good on any one line..... 7.00 1.66

Ordinary fares—

For maximum distance..... 15 .035

For minimum distance..... 10 .024

Children under 10 years of age, maximum distance..... 10 .012

Persons attending educational institutions may secure commutation tickets whereby they are allowed to ride the maximum distance for 5 pfennigs (1.2 cents).

The management of the railways is in the hands of a committee of the Town Council, the actual manager being appointed by the Council, and having the usual staff of engineers, inspectors, etc., whose salaries are the same as those paid by similar concerns; the exact amounts are not obtainable.

The town may at any time let or sell the right to work the railways, should it be found that this would be most satisfactory; but the general impression is that when the final payment has been made to the old company the profits will in a short time amply repay the initial expenditure.

CHARLES E. BARNES, Consul, Cologne, Dec. 4, 1901.

The Old Slavery and the New.

It is safe to say that the old forms of slavery were abolished, not merely because there was seen to be no advantage left in them, but because the discovery of actual advantages in the new wage-slavery. This is distinctly perceptible from the history, that most instructive history, of the cotton industry of Lancashire. One advantage of the new system of slavery is this: that you need no longer care for the physical or moral welfare of your slaves, and you need not the mill door and take him in on Monday morning, and dismiss him, on Monday night perchance, when you do not want him any longer. In so doing, you simply obey economic laws.

Then, as another advantage, it is also discovered that not only do you get rid of an unpleasant and too costly responsibility for the maintenance of your slave, but you actually have a new and stronger means of compulsion to urge on his labor. The slave of old knew that he had a market value; that if he was put on a block, and sold, the proceeds would go over him and said: "How much?" so long as he had some life in him, some power to use his limbs, there was somebody who would give something for him. And this being so, the slave knew it to be his master's interest to give him food and shelter, as to a horse or cow; therefore he was not so ready to desert and starve for the morrow. After all, notwithstanding the horrors depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the old days on the cotton plantation were infinitely more pleasant for the black slave, than the new days in the manufacturing town are for the white slave.—J. C. Kenworthy.

Modern Wonders of Mining.

Mining is a phase of activity which has been revolutionized by mechanical wonders of transport. At some of the deepest borings in the world—those in the copper country, bordering on Lake Superior—buckets of ore are now hoisted from the depth of a mile at a speed of sixty miles an hour. Main shafts have taken the labor from the back of the plowing man, which formerly dragged to the surface the small cars containing the yield of the iron mines.

Giant steam shovels rank high among modern mechanical marvels. When there is any great work of excavation to be done, like cutting through a hill where a railway line is run, or mining on the side of a mountain, the steam shovel will do the work in the quickest, best and cheapest style possible. A giant shovel in use in an American mine will handle forty or fifty tons in ten minutes, lifting the ore in its great open mouth and loading it into freight cars. The machine can be operated by half a dozen men, and can do the work that formerly required 200 laborers.

Many strange utensils are employed for transferring the crude treasures of the earth to and from the boats which carry them over the seas. "Car dumpers" are ingenious machines, which, in the space of a minute, will pick up a loaded coal truck, empty the contents into a vessel's hold and return the car to the railroad track. For unloading coal, buckets descend open-mouthed, into the hold, when their iron jaws close together and snap up a ton or more of coal at a time. In warehouses and most big business establishments elevators and endless traveling platforms do all the work of handling the merchandise. Indeed, labor-saving appliances are now being employed almost universally.—Pearson's Magazine.

THE NEXT MOVE OF EVOLUTION
WILL BE SOCIALISM.

Elben Hubbard in The Philistine.

Renan has said that truth is always rejected when it comes to a man for the first time, its evolution being as follows:

First, we say the thing is rank heresy, and contrary to the Bible.

Second, we say the matter really amounts to nothing, our way or the other.

Third, we declare that we always believed it.

Two hundred years ago partnerships in business were very rare. A man in business simply made things and sold them—and all the work was done by himself and immediate family. Soon we find instances of brothers continuing the work that the father had begun, as in the case of the Elzevirs and the Plantins, the great bookmakers of Holland. To meet the competition four printers in 1640 formed a partnership and pooled their efforts. A local writer by the name of Van Krugen denounced these four men, and attacked partnerships in general as wicked and illegal, and opposed to the best interests of the people. This view seems to have been quite general, for there was a fine line drawn at forbidding all business partnerships that were licensed by the state. The legislature of the state of Missouri has recently made war on the department store in the same way, using the Von Krugen argument, for there is no copyright on stupidity.

In London in the Seventeenth century men found guilty of pooling their efforts and dividing profits, were declared guilty of "contumacy, connivance and contravention," and given a taste of the stocks.

When corporations were formed for the first time, only a few years ago, there was a fine line drawn at disapproval. The corporation was declared an offense against the individual. And to prove the case various instances of hardship were cited; and no doubt there was much suffering, for many people cannot adjust themselves to new conditions without pain.

But we are better than corporations came because they were required. Certain things the times demanded, and no man, or two or three men could perform these tasks alone—hence arose the corporation. The rise of England as a manufacturing nation began with the plan of the stock company.

The aggregation known as the Joint-Stock Company, everybody now admits, was absolutely necessary to secure the machinery, that is to say, the tools, the raw stocks, the buildings, and to provide for the permanence of the venture.

The railroad system of America has built up a new kind of corporation, the Joint-Stock Companies and transportation our prosperity has hinged. "Commerce," says Emerson, "consists in taking things from where they are plentiful to where they are needed."

The tendency to co-operate is seen in such splendid features as the St. Louis Union Station, for instance, where just twenty railroad companies lay aside envy,

prejudice, rivalry and whim and use one terminal. If competition were really the life of trade, each railroad that enters St. Louis would have a station of its own, and the public would be put to the worry, trouble, expense and endless delay of finding where to go to get a good how to get there. As it is now, the entire aim and end of the scheme is to reduce friction, worry and expense and give the public the greatest accommodation—the best possible service—to make travel easy and life secure.

Before co-operation comes in any line, there is always competition pushed to the point that threatens destruction and promises chaos; then to avert ruin men devise a better way, a plan that conserves and economizes, and behold it is found in Co-operation.

Civilization is not a thing separate and apart, any more than art is.

Art is the beautiful way of doing things.

Civilization is the expeditious way of doing things.

And as haste is often waste—the more hurry the less speed—civilization is the best way of doing things.

As mankind multiplies in number, the problem of supplying people what they need is the important question of earth. And mankind has ever held out offers of reward in fame and money—both being power—to whomsoever would supply better things.

Teachers are those who educate people to appreciate the things they need.

The man who studies mankind, and then supplies them with what they need, and then a thing, is the man who is crowned with honor and clothed with riches.

What people need and what they want may be very different.

To undertake to supply people a thing you think they need but which they do not want, is to have your head elevated on a pike, and your bones buried in the dirt.

But what the world will yet want the thing it needs, and your bones may then become sacred relics.

This change in desire on the part of mankind is the result of a growth of intellect.

It is progress, and progress is evolution, and evolution is progress.

There are men who are continually trying to push progress along; we call them "reformers."

There are others who always oppose the reformer—the nihilist name we have for them is "conservative."

The reformer is a savior or a rebel, all depending largely upon whether he succeeds or fails.

Here is what he is, regardless of what men think of him.

The man who is indicted and executed as a rebel, often afterward has the word "savior" carved on his tomb; and some-

times men who are hailed as saviors in their day are afterward found to be sham saviors—to wit, charlatans.

Conservation is a plan of Nature. To keep the good is to conserve. The conservative is a man who puts on the brakes when he thinks progress is going to land civilization in the ditch.

Brakemen are necessary, but is the language of Kobieth, there is a time to apply the brake and there is a time to abstain from applying the brake. To clog the wheels continually is to stand still, and to stand still is to retreat.

Progress needs the brakeman, hat the brakeman should not occupy all of his time putting on the brakes.

The conservative is as necessary as the radical. The conservative keeps the reformer from going too fast, and plucking the fruit before it is ripe. Governments are only good where there is a strong opposition, just as the planets are held in place by the opposition of forces.

And so civilization goes forward by stops and starts—pushed by reformers, held back by conservatives. One is necessary to the other, as they often shift places. But forward and forward for civilization goes, ascertaining the best way of doing things.

In commerce we have had: The individual worker, the partnership, the corporation and now we have the trust.

The trust is simply a partnership of corporations. The thing is all an evolution—moving forward. It is all for man and it is all done by man, it is all done with the consent, aye, the approval of man.

The trusts were made by the people, and the people can and will unmake them, should they ever prove an engine of oppression. They exist only during good behavior, and like men, they live under a sentence of death, with an indefinite reprieve.

Trusts are good things because they are economizers of energy. They cut off waste, increase production, and make panic impossible.

The trusts have come in spite of the men who think they originated them, and in spite of the reformers who turned conservatives and opposed them.

The next move of evolution will be Socialism. Socialism means the operation of all industries by the people, for the people. Socialism is co-operation instead of competition. Competition has been so general that economists mistake it for a law of nature, when it was only an incident. Competition is no more a law of nature than is hate. Hate was once as thoroughly believed in that we gave it personality and called it the devil.

The trusts are getting things ready for Socialism.

Humanity is growing in intellect, in patience, in kindness—in love. And when the time is ripe, the people will step in and take peaceful possession of their own.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT OF
THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT.

By ISADOR LADOFF.

The environment may or may not be fitted to the life of a certain individual or species of animals at a given period of time. Animals are therefore compelled, under the penalty of death and extinction, to adapt themselves in a passive way to their environment. Man, however, has succeeded in modifying his environment, and, in so doing, has guided by brain-power or mind.

With the ever increasing subjection of Nature to human will and intellect, the struggle for existence between single individuals gradually lost its sharp sting. The primal unit was a gregarious individual with very little developed social propensities. His rules of life were akin to those of our modern philosophical anarchists and Spencersians.

The gradual development of the human mind led to a relaxation of hostility and a dominant strengthening of the mutual social instincts. The ties between the representatives of the opposite sexes deepened to life-long affection and tenderness. The nucleus of modern civilized society, the social molecule or cell, was formed.

The human family—was formed. The parents increased proportionately and led to an extension of the period of infancy, devoted to the task of preparing the new generations to the emergencies of life.

However inimical the relations between man and man were at the period when the family shaped itself as a permanent institution, the mutual attitude of the members of the family were more or less friendly and intimate. The struggle for existence between individuals was eliminated from family life and the family formed an oasis of peace and good will in the desert of general hostility and enmity.

The struggle for existence between two individuals gradually merged into a struggle between families.

The powerful civilizing agency of family life worked in the direction of contracting the field of animal struggle for existence and extending the domain of socialization. The family grew into a clan, the clan into a tribe, and so on from a simpler to a more complex social aggregate. This process of consolidation is still going on and expresses itself in the daily growing consciousness of the identity of interests of larger and larger social aggregates.

The most universal and most universal expression of this consciousness is the conviction that the INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE ENTIRE HUMAN RACE ARE IDENTICAL.

THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MODERN PROLETARIAT IS NOTHING ELSE BUT RACE CONSCIOUSNESS, the highest ideal of humanity, the ideal that inspired all those who labored and suffered in the interest of humanity from time immemorial to our day.

Modern Socialism is the latest expression of this ideal, its gospel. The proletarian movement is the most universal, the most rational realization of this ideal. It is the emancipation of mankind from the despotic sway of economic power of one class over the other, its emancipation from the struggle for existence in social-economic life. The classical call of the communist manifesto, "Proletarians of all the countries unite!" is a call for the consolidation of the entire human race, the overwhelming majority of which are proletarians, against a ridiculously small minority of exploiters.

And now, what about the class struggle and class consciousness of the proletariat as conceived by Marx and Engels? As we stated before, along with the gradual contraction of the field of the struggle for existence due to the evolution of the family (whose principal function consists in the preservation of the race) a differentiation of classes was going on un-

der the influence of economic conditions. The materialistic conception of history, as propounded by Marx, shows clearly the struggle for existence between the different economic strata of society from ancient to modern times, the struggle due to certain changeable social-economic institutions and their development.

The social-economic institutions in question form a part of the artificial environment created by men for their convenience. Men created it and men may and do change it in time to suit the changed requirements of their time. Marx, as a thinker and scientist, states the facts of certain social-economic absurdities, incongruities and injustices and examines their bearings on the broad masses of the human race. In conclusion he invites the proletariat OF ALL NATIONS to unite in the struggle for the emancipation from

